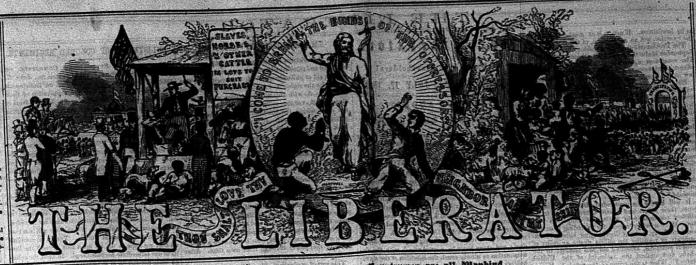
THE LIBERATOR EVERY PRIDAY MORNING,

NOTON STREET, BOOM No. 6 ERT F. WALLEUT, GENERAL AGENT.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind

TE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. VOL. XXXIII. NO. 29.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1863.

WHOLE NO. 1693.

Refuge of Oppression.

SPEECH OF FRANKLIN PIERCE

Litats from a speech delivered before a Demo-nic Copperhead Mass Meeting at Concord, N. H., by 46, 1863, by Franklin Pierce, Ex-President of Claird States

re tailed States:

Such was the Union, as conceived and administrated by Washington and Adams, by Jefferson, and sizes, and Jarkson. Such, I say, reast the Union, the cuit arms beful us; ere the madness of several hatreds and animosities possessed us; ere, in third generation, the all-comprehensive patriot of the Father's had dired out, and given place to quasimoste continuous of narrow and aggressive section.

we were the model Republic of the world, lored, or feared where we were not loved, of abroad, peaceful and happy at home. No neitizen was then subject to be driven into opinion's sake, or arbitrarily arrested and ated in military bastiles—even as, he may not for acts or words of imputed treason, old but moorn in silent sorrow over the

its of the Union.

that such a change should have come over
untry in a day, as it were—as if all men in
State of the Union, North and South, East

State of the Union with homicida

How that the cause of our calamities is the vice atermediling of too many of the citizens of the era States with the constitutional rights of the ran States, cooperating, with the discontent of ople of these States? Do we not know that stream of the Constitution, and of the serie affords to the rights of States and of in-task, has been the cause of the calamity which surely is called toundergo? And now, war:—war, direct shape—war, such as it makes the blood of the read of in the history of other mations of other times—war, nor the scale of a million in arms—war, horrid as that of barbaric ages—in several of the States of the Union, as it

not, cannot not, cannot and retrem,

that Meerry, and Henry and Henry and Henry liter of S. E. Service in them, are persons, are persons of the service in them, and present of the service in them, and the service in the

Selections.

EX-PRESIDENT PIERCE'S SPEECH.

PIERCE.

To Ex-President Franklin Pierce may be acc ed the distinction of having made a little the m est speech on national affairs, which the present sis has evoked. After a skulking silence of no

"THE IEREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

one maker, the plants Megrey of sheef and the deal of succession and there were not believe and the succession of the su

PRESIDENT IMMOOLN'S DIFFICULTIES.

PRESIDENT LANGE.

Much is said about the arduousness of task as President in this time of task as President in the time of task as President former President former President former President former President former Pres h is said about tak as President in the tak as President in the view of the tak is certainly one or will war. His task is certainly one or will he can be granted with the can be granted to the can b

Harvard Collisis ?

tion as the following, taken from his late speech in Cencord, N. H.

Who would suppose that the retailer of such slang about amaignmation as the object and necessary result of enancipations was one of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet ministers and Canstitutional advisers? If such slavery-bred asses as Montgomery Bair will consider the case of their "piebald" brothers and sisters, and their own "hybrid" children, they will find that this "mixing the black and white "was owing to the fact that the mothers were slaves, and had "no rights that white men were bound to respect. Let slavery terminate, and the Blair blood will run purer through the veins of future generations.

It is hardly to be wondered at that a concillatory, yielding man, like President Lincoln, should be full of troubles and at his wits' end between the strong drift of events towards freedom, and the slavery-saving counsel of such advisers as Blair. It was through his influence, no doubt, that Gen. Curtis was removed from the Western Department, and pro-davery Schofield inflicted upon Missouri-followed by a similar change in the minor military appointments, and throwing that State into pro-davery and semi-secest control. Is was owing to his counsel, no doubt, that the President recently advised Missouri not to adopt immediate emancipation—advice which the Convention but too gladly accepts.

sel, no doubt, that the Frestein recently awards Missouri not to adopt immediate emancipation—advice which the Convention but too gladly accepts. True enough, the President has trouble, and the will have trouble, and the country too, until he discards such advisers as Montgomery Blair—Gales burg Free Wemocrat.

THE WAR POWER AND' ITS EXERCISE.

We make the following additional extracts for nd lucid treatise by Hon. Daniel Agnew, Presi dent Judge Seventeenth Judicial District, (Pa.) enti tled, "Our National Constitution: its Adaptation to a State of War or Insurrection":—

a State of War or Insurrection ":—

The provisions of the Constitution relating to the President are these:

His oath of office: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution."

Art 2, § 1, cl. 8.

"The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. 'Bid. § 2, cl. 1.

"He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' Bid. § 3.

To sum up these provisions of the Constitution and laws in a single sentence, we see.—

actual service of the United States." Ibid. § 2, cl. 1.

"He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Ibid. § 3.

To sum up these provisions of the Constitution and law in a single sentence, we see,—

That, when the laws are obstructed or opposed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary civil process, the President, who is the constitutional head of the army, navy, and militia, and who is constitutionally enjoined by oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, is commanded to use the whole military power of the United States to suppress such combination, and cause the laws to be duly executed; and that he is the sole and exclusive judge of the facts calling the exercise of this power into requisition.

We have seen that treason was complete by the levying war.in South Carolina before the 1st day of January, 1861, and a combination too powerful to be suppressed by civil means existed.

It is, therefore, clear that the duty, the power, and the means provided by the Constitution and laws to suppress the insurrection by force of arms were plenary. No Government, however despotic, could confer greater power, or provide better means, than the Constitution and laws thus grant to the President; and this (I beg you to mark it) without a single provise or restriction, or a letter of instruction as to the mode in which he shall proceed.

The insurgents had "levied war." Nothing less than a counter war could repel theirs. The President, was bound by Constitution and law to carry on a war to suppress the rebellion.

This brings us to the second question,—How shall the military force be applied? The Constitution and laws here are silent.

The ygive the injunction, but prescribe no rule or mode of action. The whole is left to the judgment

This brings us to the second question,—How shall the military force be applied? The Constitution and laws here are silent.

They give the injunction, but prescribe no rule or mode of action. The schole is left to the judgment of the President. Nor is this strange. Congress could not forese all the movements and resorts of the enemy, and those adhering to lim; nor the embarrassments attending the measures to subdue him. A war of force, from its nature, knows no rules of action, nor how nor where the force must be used to meet the exigency. Congress cannot foresee the infinite variety of circumstances attending war, and therefore legislated most effectively in vesting in the President the whole power of the Government, and leaving him to act upon the circumstances. Hence the means to be used, and expedients resorted to, in the prosecution of the war to subdue the enemy, and defeat the schemes of his siders and abettors, from necessity, not of choice, rest exclusively in the sound discretion of the President, subject only to the customasty rules of civilized warfare.

The necessities of warfare are often unforeseen, immediate, and controlling. The commanderinchief may, therefore, declare martial law, define what is contraband of war between the enemy and doyal citizens, blockade his ports, capture and destroy his property, arrest those who give him aid and comfort by conveying information or encouragement, stirring up sedition, seducing troops, and hindering military action, and may, it short, resort to every suitable and necessary means demanded by the exigency. The exigency proceeds from the acts of the enemy or his obstrate, and compelling to trace the source of the war powers he exercises to the Constitution isself. They overlook the fact, that the injunctions of the Constitution, and the Acts of Congress in pursuance, are a grant of express, unlimited, and unconditional authority to use the whole physical force of the nation, according to his own judgment, in quelling traitors, their aiders and abettors, and

the execution of the main purpose of suppressing the insurrection.

We have now the means of testing every act of the President in this war against rebellion.

Thus, it is the purpose of the Constitution, and his duty, to put down insurrection. To this end, his duty, to put down insurrection. To this end, his whole military force is at his command. All the powers incident to the express grant, and essential to its paceries, are vested in him. In the use of these powers he acts according to his own sound discretion, upon the circumstances as they arise, and subject to no restraint but the customary laws of civilired warfare.

This is the true character of the emancipation clause. It was an Executive effort to detach from the robel cause the involuntary labor which fed and supported it. If successful, the robellion must fail. The act was military, for it struck directly at the source of the enemy's supplies. It does not assume to legislate; it does not affect to repeal State laws.

In effect, if is an offer of amnesty, an Executive appeal to the slaves, as persons, to abandon the cause of robellion, and accept the protection of Government, in order to divert their forced labor from the support of treason. As a means then seeming, in time of national gloom and adversity, to be absolutely essential to the regioner. As a military act, it thus falls within the caries Manche of military power conferred upon the President, for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion and change the laws to be faithfully executed. Meether it will prevail or fail, it may be difficult in Govern. As a more or of the control of the man and the law of the caries and the law year out to be an error, and may not accomplish the good it promised; but it is not the less justifiable in point of legality and authority, and cannot, therefore, be pronounced a surripation of power.

The act is now past recall, and it is our daty, when the necessities of war demand all our loyalty, to trust that it will at last, prove its wisdom as well

as its lawfulness. If not, it is at most an error in the exercise, not an assumption, of the power.

The Proclamation of the President of the 24th of September is also the subject of criticism and censure. The complaint against it is, that it declares new offences, unknown to the laws, and proclaims marrial law in the North, where no necessity prevails.

But, what says the Proclamation itself? After recting that "disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary process of law from him dering" the draft of the militia, "and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection."

rebel against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial slaw, and liable to trial and punishment by courts martial or military commissions."

It will hardly be contended that rebels, insurgents, their aiders and abettors, are subject to no military cognizance in a time of dangeross war. But is their aiders and abettors, are subject to no military cognizance in a time of dangeross war. But is there a better reason for excluding from the same authority, persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, or resisting the militia drafts, or guilty of disloyal practices, affording aid and comfort to the rebels, and against the authority of the United States? What is the crime of the rebels? Resistance to the law. What the lawful means of overcoming this resistance? Calling out the militia of the States, volunteer or drafted. What is the discouragement of the enlistment, or resisting of the draft? A direct interference with and obstruction of the law calling out the militia to suppress the rebellion, and to cause the laws to be faithfully executed. What is a disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to the rebels, and against the authority of the United States? Treason and participation in the rebellion. Remember the language of C. J. Marshall. No matter how minute his part, or how remote from the scene of action, if leagued with the rebels, he is a traitor.

What then is the substance of the whole objection? That treason and insurrection may be rampant—that full power by law may be given to quell it by military means; but that if this military means be frustrated by disloyalty, it has no power of self-preservation. Was there ever an objection so suicidal of national life, and contrary to sound reason? The President, by the Constitution and the law, is bound to take eare that the laws shall be faithfully executed, in their execution, and the President have no power to enforce them in a state of war and emergency? And in solar respect does obstruction to other laws in the South?

Governor Seymour, in

"DISUNION ABOLITIONISTS."

"DISUNION ABOLITIONISTS."

This is a slang phrase that you hear daily, from every copperhead and every "conservative." So far as it applies to any persons in this country now, it is mere slang, and the use of it is unworthy of any ultra Abolitionists desired a dissolution of the Union, because they believed that the Union was the means of keeping slavery in existence. They did so bonestly, because, they believed that slavery own to the was with the same and done so heroically and effective that the Union abould be dissolved than that slavery should continue. Such zere once "disunion Abolitionists." But when the war was fairly inaugurated, the cause for being disunionista ceased with them, and they have become most earnest Union mental as ill-judged and unwarrantable; deeming our Gowless, and with them nearly all of that class of Abolitionists. Now that the President has preclaimed emancing, they are among the warmest supporters of the Union, as it is the means they now rely upon to make freedom permanent.

In the Cleveland Herad of last Friday, we notice.

tion, they are among the warmest supporters of the Union, as it is the means they now rely upon to make freedom permanent.

In the Cleveland Herald of last Friday, we notice dan article on Mr. Conwar's foolish proposition to Mason, in which the editor very properly denounces it, but very improperly asy that Mr. C. was lately editor of a "disunion abolition" paper. The Commonscealth, here alluded to, never was a disunion paper in any sense; nor has Conwary been the advocate of disunion. Of those who sent him to England, we don't believe the first name can be protuced to back up this Mason negotiation. As to Garrison, upon whose devoted head all this slang is daily huried, he speaks for himself on this slang is daily huried, he speaks for himself on this yeary point. The editor does himself great injustice when he talks about "abolition copperheads." They do not exist, though there are conservative copperheads in abundance, whom he might find very frequent occasion to denounce. This swiftness to fasten, disunion upon men who have been life-long earnest supporters and advocates of the very policy on, which the salvation of the Union now depends, is not becoming in any one; and we regret to see in it, much too often, a lurking hatred of men whom it was once the fashion to denounce. With the present abolitionism of the Herald, it is in bad taste to sneer at the veterans in the "anti-slavery work."

Askabula Sentine!

CONWAY-MASON.

Mr. James M. Mason is an old Virginia gentle nan, having his residence near Winchester, whence man, having his residence near Winchester, whence his slaves ran away a year or more ago, but he is temporarily lodging at London, where he hopes to be one day received as Embassador from the more one day received as Embassador from the more different from the more diff

The Liberator.

Ne Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1863.

> FIBST OF AUGUST! cipation the only Safe and Just Policy.

The 29th Anniversary of West India Eman rill be celebrated, under the auspices of the husetts Anti-Slavery Society, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON,

at 91, A. M. on that day. Leave Plymouth at 9 20 A. M. Both trains will stop at us

and at the Grove.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 51, P. M.
FARES—Boston, Savin Hill. Dorchester FARES—Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Nepon , Quincy and Braintree, to the Grove and back, fo alts, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.

Plymouth, Kingston, Plympton, and Halifax, to the Grove and back, half the usual rates.

Excursion tickets good on other trains.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Abin By order

EDMUND QUINCY, President. R. F. WALLOUT, Rec. Sec.

OVERTURE OF MR. CONWAY TO MR. MASON

dence between the Rev. Moncure D. Conway an J. M. Mason, (both of Virginia,)—the latter Emissary and Envoy of the Confederate States,—i which Mr. Conway declares:—

who obstruct its execution. Then the sphere of war in its acts, its influences, and its resources, is wider, by extending over North and South.

Can it, therefore, be maintained that martial law here as not the character of the soil, but the extent of its was not the character of the soil, but the extent of its man to the character of the soil, but the extent of its man to the character of the soil, but the extent of its not the character of the soil, but the extent of its not the character of the soil, but the extent of its not the character of the soil, but the extent of its not the character of the soil, but the extent of its not the character of the soil, but the extent of the necessity, which justified.

The power to wage war carries with it the authority to declare martial law. It is a need of war, fare, and he who carries it on must judge of the necessity. To other minds, the necessity may not appear, still it belongs to him who has the right to declare it. The necessity is the mischief which this law is intended to remedy. The extent of the territory over which it operates must, therefore, be coextensive with the mischief it seeks to remove.

Is this war to endure always, or to end disastrously by? or must disaffection lurk in our midst, poisoning the streams of national life, and paralyzing the arm of force? Surely there is a power in military authority to extend the area of martial law, coequal to the field of mischief it is required to remedy. The true patriot, the philanthropist, the loyal man, never can doubt it.

"DISUNION ADON"

this Society, nor, as we believe, from any member of it, or any sympathizer with it, to make any such offer—or, indeed, to enter into any conference with any one on national affairs; and that his visit to England, as far as we can learn, was entjeyly of his own motion, and that he was neither sent by the Abolitionists, nor is in any sense their agent. And while we have not the elightest doubt of Mr. Conway's zealous intentions to serve the cause of imperful it. If yetly, at home and abroad; while we esteem him for what he has said and done o heroically and effective in behalf of the millions in booders, to his own

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the Am ican Anti-Slavery Society,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President

THE REIGN OF TERROR INAUGURATED

s frees, has approached, it has been the remorsels aim and effort of such incendiary and seditious pape as the New York World, News, Express, and Bost Courier, so to inflame and deceive the ingual masses of society, (particularly the Irish, of course in regard to its true intent and spirit, as to stimula der and treason,—in which anarchical undertaking these journals have been encouraged by such oratorical traitors as Franklin Pierce, Fernando Wood, Gov. Seymour, and C. L. Vallandigham, all of whom are justly amenable to the charge of high treason. No worse conspirators against the public peace have ever appeared in any age or country. The results of their joint labors are witnessed in the frantic and demoniacal scenes enacted by their horribly deprayed and demented tools in the cities of New York and B

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURL

The Post declares that the people of Missouri have arranged and established a plan of emancipation "without the aid of philanthropy." It is perfectly true that regard for the rights and welfare of the negroes had nothing to do with the act is question, since the design and effect of the ordinance are that slavery shall not cease within the life-time of the present voting population of Missouri. It is a leaf taken out of the book of that crafty old slaveholder, Henry Clay. At a time when abolitionist ideas were gaining ground, and the tenure of the peculiar institution was becoming fascure, Clay drew up a plan of prospective emancipation, to be used, in case of need, to sawe off any real abolition of 'alavery in his time. The details of it were not unlike those of the Missouri ordinance just passed, and its effect was designed to be to secure a continuance of slavery as long as he and his children should live. Under the pinch of existing facts and prospects, the slaveholders of Missouri are willing to make the same compromate, and to be future generations from the exercise of despotic power under the name of Democracy, if they can thus secure a continuance of that power through their own time. After them, the deluge may come, and welcome.

This sort of gradualism—the giving an inch of futurity for an ell of actuality—the yielding of one point in the remote distance to secure that present possession which, includes the deluge may not so

rity for an ell of actuality—the yielding of one point in the remote distance to secure that present possession which includes the other nine points—is not so bad as an established perpetuity of slavery. On the other hand, it is not good enough to be for a moment consented to. The emancipationists of Missouri, who have been defeated by the passage of this ordinance, are even now contesting it, and making new efforts to secure an immediate abolition of slavery. Let us hope that they may succeed; and (to use the beautiful language of Holmes's Fourth of July oration) "that Liberty, the one of the two claimants who swears that her babe shall not be split in halves and divided between them," may prove to be "the true mother," of Missouri. But hoping is not enough. We must sowk to this end. Every lover of liberty in the land should raise his voice to encourage the opposers of slavery in Missouri. And the first thing to be done is to expose the impudent imposture of calling an ordise the impudent imposture of calling an ordi-composed of such provisions, and passed under reumstances, an act of emancipation. It is, in

very.

The present hour is truly, as Mr. Conway stated it, the golden hour for energetic and incessant efforts for the overthrow of slavery. Now that the revelations of secession have so fully proved that institution incompatible with the continuance of our system of government—now that war, shaking all things, has so extensively fractured the branches and cosened the berty have arisen from the depths of party politics ism by their experience in the South, are bringing up the very church towards opposition to slavery—apd, finally, now that powerful minorities in the Slave States themselves have come to see that their only chance for the return of peace and prosperity lies in the extirpation of the slave system—now is the time

gregational Society of Boston) made their annual summer excursion on Wednesday, July 8th, to Bancroû's Grove, in Reading; a place well suited to such festivities. The foresoon was devoted to recreations, dancing, swinging, athletic games, &c. A pic-nic dinner followed. And in the afternoon, brief addresses were made by Thomas M. Meishers, Wilson Welsen. dancing, swinging, athletic games, ec. a promo-dinner followed. And in the afternoon, brief addresses were made by Thomas M. Hathaway, Elizur Wright, Charles Lenox Remond, and Mr. Toohey, of New York. The state of our country and, our duties in relation to it were the principal topics of remark. The audience gay's attention and applause to the speakers, and the occasion seemed heartily enjoyed by all. The 28th Congregational Society heard an admira-ble discourse on "The Times" from Wendell Phillips and are now to take their outstomary

ble discourse on "The Times" from Wendell Phillip last Sunday, and are now to take their customar summer recess, resuming their exercises the first Su day in September.—c. K. w.

-An esteemed correspondent in Philadelphia inform us that the colored-enlistment business has been un dertaken with great enthusiasm in that city. Leadir men of all classes that are loyal are engaged in it-men of the highest social and political distinction. This is seen in the names appended to the Addre of the "Supervisory Committee," in anome.

The Committee has had to be augmented twice to accommodate gentlemen who desired to serve upon it. commonate gentlemen who desired to serve upon it. It now enbraces seventy-fire members, including some of the most prominent merchants, bankers, professional men, &c. Its number was originally 25—then 60—now 75.

The "Supervisory Committee" has undertaken to

raise \$50,000 to defray extraorilinary expenses, and have already raised nearly half that amount Camp Wm. Penn (!) at 6belton Hills has about 400 recruits, and the number is daily increasing.

"Mrs. Lucretia Mott, who lives hard by, is to address the soldiers at the camp next Sunday, at five o'clock. You may be sure she will neither disbonor her own peace principles, or rudely disturb their convictions of daty.

"Now is the golden hour for the black men. They should turn their faces to camp Wm. Penn, the only camp for colored troops cast of the mountains. Abolitionists should encourage them to come forward."

cause, is Commissioner for colored recruits. J. M. McKim, Esq., will give any information that may be desired, so far as in his power, by friends at a distance, if they will write to him.

ENLISTMENT OF COLORED REGIMENTS.

ENLISTMENT OF COLORED REGIMENTS,

HEADQUARTERS SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE OF COLORED ENTERMENTS, 1210 Cheenus St., June 27, 1853.—The Supervisory Committee or Enlistments for Colored Regiments ask the cooperation of their fellow-citizens in an undertaking which they deem of the utmost importance to the successful prosecution of the war against rebellion.

Authority has been given by the War Department to recruit in Pennsylvania colored regiments for three years, or the war. These troops, when raised, will be credited to the quots of Pennsylvania under the next draft. The Government receives and masters them in at Camp Williams Penn, at Chelton Hills, and all previous expense of recruitment, subsistance and transportation must be provided by the public. It will be seen that funds to a considerable extent will be required to prosecute successfully and energetically the enterprise which has been estrusted to us. Without bounties or extra allowance for the men, each regiment recruited in this vicinity will not cost less than ton thousand dollars. Xet, to accomplish all that we hope to do, we must look beyond the limit of our immediate neighborhood. In 1800, the colored male population of Pennsylvania was only 26,878; and if one in four of these is able to bear arms, we have for our field of operations only six or seven thousand men, of whom four hundred have already, through our own negligence, been abstracted for the benefit of Massachusetts. Our field, therefore, abould not be limited by the narrow boundaries of our own Siata, and this vill necessarily entail increased expenditure. The Massachusetts regiments, obtained by a diure. benefit of Massachusetts. Our field, therefore, should not be limited by the narrow boundaries of our own State, and this will necessarily entail increased expon-diture. The Massachusetts regiments, obtained by a

State, and this will necessarily entail increased expenditure. The Messachusetts regiments, obtained by a system of agencies extenting from St. Louis to Philadelphia, cost about \$25,000 esch, exclusive of the \$50 bounty per man. The funds for this had, with a wise forethought, been appropriated by the State.

We must rely upon private liberality. The same machinery which was so successfully employed for funds placed at our disposal. If large, we can make this the centre of recruitment for the colored population of all the States where such enlistments are not permitted by the State authorities.

But it is not only pecuniary aid that we look for at your hands. Our labors can be materially assisted by your influence and sympathy. Whether encouraged or not, the events of the past fortnight have shown that there is sufficient spirit and patipoism in our colored population to insure a reasonable response to our invitation to enlist; but the extent of that response can be vastly increased by individual efforts, and by the appreciation which the community at large may manifest of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to a country which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to a country which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which has thus far given him but a stepment of the patriotic self-devotion of the negro to accountry which was also all thinking men have at last been convinced that the morpal struggle in which we are engaged requires us to use all the legitimate

been convinced that the morpal struggle in which we are engaged requires us to use all the legitimate means within our power to crush a rebellion which else will crush us. It has been recognized that the severest blow which can be inflicted upon the slave oligarchy must come from the institution of slavery itself; and while we were thus turning upon the reb-els the arms which they had been using against us, it would be folly longer to deny to the free colored men of the North the opportunity which they had so earof the North the opportunity which they had so earnessly desired of offering themselves as a sacrifice not only to their race, but the country. Since volume colored recruit acts as an unpurchased substitute for a white man. If, forgetful of past experience in our two wars with England, many of us believe that the col-ored race could not face the white man in battle, the generous self-sacrifice of the noble spirits who fell at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend has effectually disservitude, lest their ungovernable fury should repay upon the innocent and unprotected the long arrears of upon the innocent and inprotected the long arrears of wrong, the result has shown how baseless were those fears. We have seen, that while the negro can ex-hibit unaurpassed courage on the field, he is thorough-ly amenable to discipline, and that, when properly trained and well officered, he may be implicitly relied on to observe the rules of honorable warfare.

The last objection has thus been removed, and no loyal citizen can hesitate to aid in every practicable mode a movement which must prove most efficient in quieting the rebellion. To all classes, therefore, we appeal, with full confidence that we shall receive for the undertaking the active support, both moral and pecuniary, of a community which has never yet failed

35 South 8d-st.

Applications for positions in the regiment should be

Applications of posteriors in the egiment and a cranamitted through Henry Samuel, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the Executive Committee, at the seadquarters, No. 1210, Chesnut street. Authority o recruit will be given by Maj. Stearns, No. 1210

Cheanet street.

MEN OF COLOR1 at length the opportunity is offered for which you have waited so long and so partiently. A gigantic contest, in which the interests of your race are so largely involved, threatens with destruction the land which for centuries has been your home. At the very commencement of the struggle, you eagerly offered your services. They were rejected for reasons which, whether well or ill-founded, were

Men of color! we speak to you of your country, of the J. M. ay be placed you to work out his mysterious providence has placed you to work out his inscrutable purposes. Yet you have been strangers in a land of strangers, and it is now for you to decide whether that land shall be to you and your children more in the future than it has been in the past. We can make no promises, but we have an abiding faith that the Almighty has not visited us with tribulation in wrath, but in mercy; to be a man, having his residence near Witcheliots, where the property of the pays of Ace or one see, but he is it temporary the pays of Ace or one one of the law—this treasonable temporary of the passes of the passes

borer is worthy of his hire. We feel assure you that the Administration as portion of Congress will, at the next their influence to remove such district. pay, not only in the fut

which is the due of valor contending for the right THOMAS WEBSTER, Chievan SINGLETON A. MERCER, Treasure.

CADWALADER BIDDLE, Secretary. Geo. H. Boker,

Daniel Smith Algernon S. Robert Rev. J. W. Jackson Lemuel Coffin, John E. Addicks, A. E. Borie, William H. Ashurst. E. W. Clark, Benj. H. Brewster, Caleb H. Needles, Joshua P. Ash, James W. Carson L. Montgomery Bon Henry C. Lee, A. G. Cattell. G. C. Morris, William Sellers, James Le Claghora, B. P. H. B. P. Hunt, Wm. G. Wainwright, M. Russell Thayer, Ed. Parker, Lt. Col. Wm. D. W Evan Randolo

ple, U. S.A., S. M. Felton, James Pollock, Joshua Spering, James A. Wright, Rev. Thos. Braiserd, Thos. P. Stotesbury Col. G. H. Crossman, U.S. John D. Taylor, B. H. Mo William S. Pierce, John S. Newhold

BRAVERY OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

Dearwing Departure of the control of

In front of the Rebel Works at Port Hudan, LOUISIANA, June 9th, 1861

DEAR SIR-I presume you are aware that we have in the 19th army corps, four regiments of colorist diers. The lat regiment was commenced in arms last, and mustered into the United States series a September; and in this letter I shall tell you have a it conducted itself, in a recent fight in this place. Be fore doing so, however, I feel strongly inclined to be fore using so, however, I feel strongly inclined to all you of the abuse that has been heaped upon there ored soldlers, and the white officers who harsthen in charge, by the army at large, and by cethin elem in particular; but I must not (at present) "el to secreta of my prison house,"—and I know to will be a secreta. that I should not, for one moment, reflect upon the 'in authority."

Little did we imagine when we left Baton Roup, and marched to Springfield Landing-aplace sizual five or six miles from Port Hudson-that we were ally to take part in a fight. On the 25th of May, we marched to this place, and on the 27th, an attack vu made upon the rebel works by the whole, or sen't the whole, of Gen. Banks's army. We did not ke-ever, get inside the rebel works at any point for Weitzel and Gen. Paine's divisions lout heavily. Gen. Dow and Sherman were wounded—the latter dapp usly.
The two colored regiments, the 1st (Col. Staffer)

and 3d Louisiana, (Col. Nelson's) were on the circumstant of the line. On the morning of the 27th, the two regiments, by order of Geo. Dwight, made not tack upon the enemy's works. Heavy woods endined Port Hudson from the river above to the river his Our soldiers were ordered to charge upon the and they did charge! But they were cut down and they did charge! But they were cut don't "cannon on the right of them, cannon on the lad them," and were obliged to fall back; but they an not demoralized—for they re formed under fire, and made a grand charge upon the central hattry, us would have taken it but for an impassable baya. Is the mud, the swamp, and among the treet, the representation of the state of that is, they held their position.

In the first charge Capt. Callioux and Lieut Crov.

In the first charge Capt. Callioux and Lett. Cere were killed. Both of the officers were black, with black; yet they were brave. Capt. C. fell white cheering on his men, and in advance of his constant. I wish to have this fact put on record, because have been told that "your niggers won't fight." I must not forget to mention our standard bearet. With must not forget to mention our standard beard. Was what courage he carried the colors into the fight, was all know. He was shot through the head, and, as he all know.

Extract of a letter from a Surgeon in Gen. Wild's Brigade, (colored troops.)

paralle. (colored troops.)

CAST ANDREW, NEWBERN, N. C., J.

June 14, 1863.

Data Ma. MAY—I have spent ten days in this permissed. Fart of the time in, Gen. Wild's head-permissed. Fart and the time in, Gen. Wild's head-permissed when the city was captured by Gen. 18th old webs. When the city was captured by Gen. 18th old webs. When the city was captured by Gen. 18th old webs. There is not much choice so far as more considering, hard tack and the floor for a permissed of the color of the defendance of the thing, it was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly be worth while to come to Dixie. Yet, was fardly now not many the captured of an enterprise which at this moment excites more an enterprise which at the sary which is the rest event of the age. Friends and foes, shroad and thought of the general than the age of the sary which is the rest event of the age. Friends and foes, shroad was to many the charlot wheels of God's providence, on which the hardwards which as a san matter of human plor than a sone of those great changes which, the farbitot wheels of God's providence, on which the even of these was attended to the sary that the most active and pompon personages of this great and bloody drama now personages of the group the sary that the fa

and made what may be called pretty heavy payments in advance. Gen. Wild lost an arm, and was otherwise reverly wounded at Antietam. Colonel Beecher, though hitherto unwounded, has braved dangers and borne labors which few men have the luck to find the power to endure. In the campaign of the peninsta, though, like the lamented 'Fuller,' he was ever forement in the fight, and when the battle ended, the most faithful and indefatigable in caring for the most faithful and indefatigable in caring for the wounded, working at one time thirty-six hours without rest to save the suffering and soothe the dying. Of our captains and lieutenants, all have seen service, and several have lost an arm or hand, or bear the

Jr.
Robert ckson,
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sold.

DIERS

at we have colored sol d in August service in on how well place. Be-kined to tell in these colored area them in train officers it) "tell the ow too well upon those

aton Rouge ace situate we were re of May, we attack wa , or nearly id not, how oint. Gen tiler danger

that he had in say, after ourage and unflinching to them, in

i—I do not en gun-shot tirely of ex-ome of the san descent, in appointed ni into the ser, twenty-fitty were

entered the I have seen any who, ass our col-that many it the field-edd dressed rejoin the

agaid a caps of this department—vix., to accomplish the soble end of saving the nation by the noble means of sholishing the cause of its ruin. We have omens of the best success. Emancipated slaves are joining our brigade at the rate of 20 to 300 a week, besides many who offer themselves, but are rejected as unfit to bear arms. We accept none but the strong and its leoking. It is my duty to examine recruits, and I am obliged to look sharply after physical defects, which they are disposed to conceal, for the sake of a chance to fight. But most who come are stalwart men, and very many are striking specimens of the stedgehammer style, men who, in the days before this stedgehammer style, men who, in the days before this

and praying and shouting and groaning. Never did live such an outpouring of the spirit. Verily, the old prophets were right, and God is a "man of war," prophets were right, and God is a." man of war, che these honest souls are much mistaken. They have many preathers among them, like the "Dred" of Mrs. Stowe, who are full of the Scripture which predicts the overthrow of their enemies. Orthodox

CONVENTION OF FRIENDS OF PROGRESS. DETROIT, Mich., June 29, 1863.

predicts the overthrow of their enemies. Orthodox they certainly are, or at least mean to be, though they appear to have either forgotten' the devil, (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil, (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil, (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil, (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil, (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the devil (whom they appear to have either forgotten' the standard of the standard to an open developed to a

DLY 17.

(D. YELLY SIMPLE POWER SET, MARKE POWER SET, SIMPLE POWER

Mr. Parker called the fourth person in the trinity of the Orthodox creed,) or to have confounded him discussions. The corporeted Democratory of the relative o

MOBOCRATIC RESISTANCE TO THE DRAFT
IN BOSTON:

MOSDAT, July 18.

Mesers. Hill and Howe, Rerelling officers of the 6th in New York, this 12 M. Laborers are leaving their and the state of t

and at 20 colock; a crowd numbering about 500 persons, including many women, were assembled in Hanverstone, including many women, were assembled in Hanverstone, and the men, and threaten every one who goes into or comes out of the station house.

These serious indications of difficulty caused measures to be taken to increase the police force in sulfable locations, and orders were issued to notify the Lancers, the 11th Battery, Capt. Jones, and the 44th regiment to be ready for immediate service. An order was also sent to Fort. Warren for troops, and three companies were sent up, which, after being marched through several of the principal streets, were quartered at the Barracks in Beach street. A company of regulars was also sent up from Fort Independence, and nearly a company of the second cavalry from Readville. These precautions, it was believed, would be sufficient to prevent any difficulty during the night.

through several of the principal streets, were quartered at the Barracks in Beach street. A company of regular was also, sent up from Fort Independence, and nearly a company of the second caratary from Beach Independence, and nearly a company of the second caratary from Beach Independence, and nearly a company of the second caratary from the manufact of from six to treetve or more, from various parts of the city, were seen moving towards the North End, some of them with sticks or ciths. At about his past 6 o'clock, a crowd of from 100 bears, it could be several towards the crowd of the dangers of a riot, but this did not savall, and an assault was made upon the building. Stones and bricks were freely through, the window were broken, and the doors forced, when some of the rioters entered the building, and eyes the sense of the building several and wounding many more. This short caused the mob to waver, but are was made upon the building and eyes the sense of the building, and eyes the sense of the sense of

smade to leave after obtaining whiskey, and destroyed the red.

The next rush was made for the store of Wm. Read & Son, Faneuil Hall Square. A guard of several defined as the store of the

where there are some negro residences, and set fire to them.

New Yoga, July 14—1 P. M. The mob have barricaded certain parts of the city to prevent troops coming. The tracks of the New Haven and Hudson River Railroads have been torn up.

The mob revisited the Fifth Avenue Hotel last evening, and intended destroying it, but were persuaded to leave after obtaining whiskey, which they demanded. It is reported that the mob have destroyed the gas main up town.

The stores in Broadway are generally closed. It is feared that the mob will destroy the Croton Aqueduct and Reservoir.

burned last night; also, Harlem bridge.

New Youx, July 14—Four o'clook, P. M. Vessels have been hauled from the dock into the stream, and genboats anchored in certain localities so as to command the street where the mobic expected to operate. One is anchored off Wall street.

All the stores down town are now closed. The armories and arsenals are fully garrisoned, as well as the public buildings, including the custom-house, etc. The reserves of our city regiments are now organized, and will soon be operating. It is expected there will be some 5000 efficient enough the dist this even.

have suspended operations under the threat of the mob.

A large fork packing factory on Washington street was burned by the mob early this morning.

A block of nine buildings, including a planing mill, on 120th street, were also burnt by the mob this morning.

The mob took possession of a tenement block on 34th street, but were driven out by the infantry, who reashed in, threwing rioters out of the windows, shooting and killing several. It was a desperate of air, and the mob endeavored to rally, but a charge from the soldiers drove them pell-mell.

An attack was made on a detachment of marines

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Receipts into the Treasury to July 10, 1863. Amela Richardson, Boston, arah J. Davee, Plymouth, Jeorge Higginson, Eq., Dordo, Jeorge Higginson, Eq., Dordo, Jeorge W. Staop, Milford, C. Cowing, West Rarbury, Ira Alams, Dorchester, to redeem pledge, Alden Euspipous, Charlestown, to redeem plearah D. Harris, Dr. H. G. Blone, Framingham, South Hingham, South Hingham, amingnam, at a dily,
, Boston, to redeem pledge,

50 00
ett; Princeton, for pledge of July 4, 25 00
EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS

By Finance Committee at Framingham, July 4, 1863, E. Fester, I 00; A. Wyman, 2,00; G. I. Butts, 25; H. O. Lothrop, 25; O. D. Glough, 25; — Sherman, 25; J. Finch, 10; H. C. Childs, 25; C. C. Breek, 35; D. P. Cook, 30; D. B. Morey, I 00; Mary Willey, 50; Mary Chapp, 1 00; Stephen Chapp, 1 00; Martina Chapp, 1 00; Richard Chapp, 1 00; Friend, I 00; A. Fester, I 00; J. H. Hrigham, 1 00; Mas H. A. Wilson, I 100; S. A. E. Ford, I 00; S. L. C. Brod, I 00; S. L. C. Dunne, I 00; W. D. Lacker, Hopedala, S. 60; Henzy Damen, I 00; D. W. Bennett, 25; J. D., 25; Thomas B., Rice, I 00; W. W. Ducker, Hopedala, S. 60; Henzy Damen, I 00; D. W. Bennett, 25; J. D., 25; Thomas B., Rice, I 00; D. W. Bennett, 25; J. B. Hrighting, I 00; E. Batty, I 00; W. Humphry, 25; — Ducker, 25; Edward B. Perkins, I 00; L. Bigelow, I 00; J. Patrick, 50; E. Batty, I 00; D. Patrick, 50; E. Batty, I 00; G. W. Stacy, 30; Leslie Knox, 50; D. B. Smith, 30; G. W. Samuel May, Jr., I 00; D. Patrick, 50; E. Pitts, 25; J. L. Whiting, 50; C. A. Sawin, 30; Mrs. Carolipe R. Putnam, I 00; Mrs. M. A. Dutcher, Hopedala, S. 00.

EFF One of the subscription papers was lest or mis laid, and the above list is imperfect. The entire cash collection was \$390.

PLEDGES PLEDGES
To Mass. Anti-Slavery Society at Framingham, July 4, 1863.
Joshua T. Everett, \$25 00
C. M. Severance, Boston, 5 00
Hiram Hunt, Milford, 1 00 A PICTURE FOR THE TIMES.

A PICTURE FOR THE TIMES.

For sale by R. F. Wallour, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, a well-executed photograph of a remarkable drawing by Mr. Carltrox, one of our resident artists, called "Watch-Meeting, Dec. 31, 1862—Walting, for the Hour",—representing a scene "way down South Distle," on last New Year's Eve, where some thirty or forty slaves seem to be waiting with great anxiety the hour which, by President Lincoln's proclamation of the 22d of September, shall make them "heaceforth and for ever free." Large size, suitable for framing, \$2.00. Second size, \$1.00. Card photograph, 25 cents.

We have a photographic likeness of a Louisiana slave's back, taken five or six months after a terrible scourging, and furrows raised or gouged by the lash, running cross-wise and lengthwise—the victim himself presenting a no-ble countenance and fine physique. "This card photo-graph," says the New York Independent, "should be mul-tiplied by one hundred thousand, and scattered over the States. It tells the story in a way that even Mrs. Stowe cannot approach, because it tells the story to the eye." Price 15 cents. Sent by mail, by enclosing postage stamp. Serven copies for one dellar, or \$1,50 per dozen. Address Editors or the Liberators, Boston, Mass.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to omen and Children. References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will speak by invilon at the following places in the State of Maine:

Bucksport, Sunday, July 19.

Monday, 20.

Pexter, Friday, 24.

THE GREAT BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG. "WHAT I SAW IN TENNESSEE,"

"WHAT I -SAW IN TENNESSEE,"

BY EDRUED KIRKS.

THE NEW YORK SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE of Tuesday, July I, contains forty-eight columns of matter of unusual interest and variety, enough to make two good-sized volumes. Among these articles is the first of a series of Letters written expressly for The Taiburs, by "EDMUND KIRKE," author of "Among the Pines," entitled, "What I saw in Tennessee." Mr. "Kirke" has recently made a tour in the Southwest, and proposes to give in these letters an inside view of the Rabellion, for which his femiliarity with Southern people and their habits, and his remarkable facility in describing them, eminently fit him. This first, letter sets forth the character and portrays the enormities of the Rabellion with a vivideness and power not hitherto reached by any other writer. A large portion of the sheet will be given up to a full account of the Battles of Gettyburg—the most intelligent, complete, and best-written marrative of the terrible fighting of leat week that has been published, and written by our own correspondents, who were eye-witnesses to what they relate. The asceom; will be brought down to the latest moment. It will contain also a review of the forthcoming work of Mrs. Frances Butter—Life as she eaview on so sucher Plantation—embracing some long extracts

TERMS OF THE TRIBUNE. Single copy,
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and blinds were riddled with balls, which made their way in many instances through the made was more of hing with which they cannot handle were made in the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls, from which places of brick were "chipped the walls were accorded about the point going going to their house or even walls of he number of 100, went to New York in charge of impector Folk.

There was great commotion in the Newy Yord.
There was great commotion in the Newy Yord.
There was great commotion in the Newy Yord.
There was great or annotated with a Fushing feighteen pounders are mounted with a Fushing Arenne wide so as to sweep evene, and all the vessels was an expense of impector was a more of the control of the property, promising them he would see that everything was great or annotated with a fushing the said places of impector Folk.

There was great commotion in the Newy Yord.
There was great or annotated with a Fushing Arenne were great pounders are mounted by the State of the Points of th

. Poefry.

BE JUST, AND FEAR NOT.

BY THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY at thou the truth. Let others fenor And trim their words for pay; In pleasant sunshine of pretence hear others back their day.

Guard these the fact, though clouds of night Down on thy watch-tower stoop; Though then should'st see thine heart's delight from thee by their swe

Face thou the wind. Though safer seem In shelter to abide, We were not made to sit and dream; The safe must first be tried.

Where God hath set his thorns about, Cry not, "The way is plain;" His path within for those without Is paved with toll and pain.

One fragment of his blessed word Into thy spirit burned, Is better than the whole, half-heard, And by thine interests turned.

Show thou thy light. If conscience gleam, Set not the bushel down : bet not the bushel down;
The smallest spark may send his beam O'er hamlet, tower, and town.

Woe, woe to him on safety bent, Who creeps from age to youth, Falling to grasp his life's intent Because he fears the truth!

Be frue to every immost thought,
And as thy thought, thy speech;
What thou hast not by suffering bought,
Presume thou not to teach.

Hold on, hold on; thou hast the reck; The fees are on the sand; The first world-tempest's ruthless shock Scatters their shifting strand;

While each wild gust the mist shall clear We now see darkly through, And justified at last appear The true, in Him that's true. —Macmillan's Magazine for April.

DOING WITHOUT IT. BY CHARLES G. AMES.

I've found some wisdom in my guest
That's richly worth retailing;
I've learned that when one does his best,
There's little harm in failing.

I thought to gather wealth untold, And made my boast about it; My wit and toil bring little gold, But I can do without it.

I said, "The world shall hear my name, And down the ages shout it;" I shall not win the bauble Fame, But I can do without it.

Another thing I've had to prove,
Though much I used to doubt it;
One can't be sure of human love,

I thought to know philosophy, And teach the world about it; My plummet will not sound the sea; My ship can sail without it.

I saw the earth with wrong e ergrown.
And set myself to rout it;
Some age will see it overthrown,
So I can die without it.

I may not reach what I pursue, Yet will I keep pursuing; Nothing is vain that I can do, Since soul-growth comes of doing. Natitian Incurrer.

HOW TO LIVE.

BY B. BOXAR He liveth long who liveth well! He liveth longest who can tell Of living most for heavenly gain.

Re liveth long who liveth well !
All else is being flung away; Of true things truly done each day.

Waste not thy being; back to him Who freely gave it, freely give; Else is that being but a dream; "Tis but to be, and not to live.

Be what then seemest? live thy ere Hold up to earth the torch divine Be what then prayest to be made; Let the great Master's steps be thine.

Fill up each hour with what will last; Buy up the moments as they The life above, when this is pa Is the ripe fruit of life below.

Sow truth, if thou the truth would'st reap; Who sows the false shall reap the vain ; rect and round thy conscience keep ;

Now love, and taste its fruitage pure; Sow peace, and reap its harvest bright; Now sunbeams on the rock and moor, And find a harvest-home of light.

The Tiberator.

THE WAR- METHOD OF PEACE.

AN ADDRESS TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRIGATIONAL SOCIETY, BOSTON, SUNDAY, JUN

Mr. Heywood said that, waiving their usual selec-tions from the Bible, he would read some later scrip-tures, which he deemed of great significance in this

grains :—

Extracts from the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1833.

"We have met together for the achievement of an gnierprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which for its magnitude, its olemnity, and probable as thich for its magnitude, its olemnity, and probable as the property of the world, as far many the sent in as most tenth of the world, as far many the sent in as most tenth of the world, as far many the sent in a most tenth of the world, as far many the principles led them, to wage with water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and issed us to reject, and to entreat the opposed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bendage; relying solely on those which are apiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of atrong-holds. Their measures were physical realizance, the marshalling in arms, the mortal excounters. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destroction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of pseudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the apirit of repentance. ... Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our pseudicples never. ... Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to It, pieding cursivers, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, to overthrow the most exceeds a system of always; that has ever been witnessed upon the earth. ... Come what may to our persons, or ribuses the formous of Intalies.—Patcher we live to ribuse the formous of Intalies.—Patcher we live to ribuse the formous of Intalies.—Patcher we live to ribuse the formous of Intalies.

one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Buler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which
is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which Mercy and Truth are nee together, and Eighteouness and Peace have kissed
each other; which has no estate lines, on geographical
boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank,
caste or sex; the officers of which are Peace, its exactors Eighteounnes, its walls Salvation, and its gates.
Praise; and which is destined to break in pieces and
consume all other kingdoms. Our country is the
world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the
land of our naivity, only as we love all other lands.
The interests, rights, and liberates of American etic
world, our countrymen are all mankind. We note any
ears are no more dear to we a can allow up appeal
to pairiotan, to ree, under whose stainless banner way.
The Prince of our counted this love to ward us in
that while we were yet sinners. Christ died for us.

We register our testimoup not only against all
wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; gainst all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any
legislative body; against veey edict of government
requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we
deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military
office. We believe that the penal code of the old
covenant, ha rey for an arey, and a tooth for a tooth,
has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and that under
the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whateover. Yengeance is mine,
I will repay, saith the Lord. The history of mankind
is crowled with evidences, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the
siral disposition of mancan be subded only by love;
that evil can be exterminated from the gainers will a not adapted to
order, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle
being confident that it provi inside the lion," and hence men are under the domin-ion of brutish instincts, and cannot realist them, is practical atheism; makes free agency a fiction. The claim that war comes in society as earthquakes come in nature is equally irrelevant. If earthquakes are free moral agents, if earthquakes vote and join the church, that argument is in point—otherwise, it is im-pertment and abourd.

These Declarations, both written by Mr. Garrison will stand in history with that of American Independence; and higher—for, while Jefferson is revered a dence; and higher the father of our national freedom, from a single br which is to establish impartial liberty for all races or nt; the other will subvert the war system

DISCOURSE.

to burn their city, rather than surrender it to the North-as when these Yankees, who hold their dollar so near the eye that it hides the universe, on the battle-field open their veins by their own vitality to reanimate the drooping State. While, compared with the course of truth, the course of principle, the course of force is a kind of spaniel cowardice—which goes on four In the various discourses, which, during the last t years, I have had the honor to address to this Socie I have frequently, as a non-resistant, taken the liberty to question the war method of restoring the Union, or to abolish slavery, as immorrat, imported, and unnecessary. But my brief acquaintance with political studies of any kind; an unwillingness to embarrass any experiment against slavery, even by the expression of opinions of trivial importance in themselves; and, chiefly, my profound reverence for distinguished Abolitionists, from whom to differ on this point is grave. is a kind of spaniel cowardice—when goes so tour legs or a smaller number—not until the real manhood there is in war is transferred to the cause of peace will the reign of principles subvert the reign of the sword. But patriotism, in its final application, is altogether narrow and selfish; dwarfs the man into an American cause for distrusting one's own decisions, have pre or Frenchman; makes him a satellite of the govern-ment—with two or three facts you may calculate his orbit; of a party or sect; or a satellite of the town-pump; rarely sets the discordant notes of partisan strife to the sphere harmony of justice and impartial liberty. Like the villeins of feudal times, men belong to the soil, are bought and sold with it; adhere to the government in order to adhere to themselves. Each community, state, nation, standing on its own sel-fab, interests there is no concord, no cosmonolitan partisan views, rather than loyalty to truth and ored guarantees of freedom; and there is a guarantees of treedom; and univers as a government in outer to accurate the community, state, nation, standing on its own degrade all moral principles to the base level of unscruptions policy; it may be well for us to tell ourselves, at least, what events think of this war, as well seed to the proposite tenements—they as what speculators and politicians think of it; on what methods and risks we are embarking, and whither like. Nationality is a minus quantity; the contract of the proposite tenements—they have well designed to the proposite tenements—they have reliable to the proposite tenements. they will float us. Availing myself, therefore, of the large toleration which is the chief celebrity of this deak and of the especial indulgence of your Commituces, and of the especial indugence of your commit-tee, who have always told me to bring true rather than pleasant things, I would like your attention, for an hour or so, to some things respecting the war

truth, and a manly and consistent example of it. Ap-pealing from expediency and tradition to the inner left behind for the next_arrival in the cradle. The clements of growth and original sovereignty forever inhere in the people, and no government can be perpetual, any more than a coat can be perpetual. Lord Brougham says, England survives, because she knows when to bend, to yield to the expanding life of the nation. So American government, of the people, by the people, for the people, power, is founded on the consent of the governed. Hence, presently explained to the people, for the people of the governed. Hence, the people of th governments to justice, from cross. Abolitionists where there is no slavery, and Non-Resistants who believe in peace except when there is war,—such have small faith in a beneficent Providence, or the honesty of man's soul; suspect a malignant agency prevails; distrust ideas, and confer with fiesh and blood; think the laws of nature are repealed by this crisis, and the Court of Heaven has repealed by this crisis, and the courters. Nevertheceased its jurisdiction in these quarters. Nevertheless, even amidst "rising sinners and falling stars," which now bring redemption through retribution to the American people. "Interest is the bride of Duty," and though policy may succeed against policy, it is impotent against truth and sincerity. Much which the world calls success is merely factious interest drifting the general welfare into heaps here, at the expense of bare ground elsewhere. If your advan-tage is partial and relative, unless "the immediate motive of your will may become a universal rule for all intelligent beings"—unless you are right—you

reason of Greece and Rome, the hot enthusiasm of French progress and Anglo-Saxon common sense, first reaching a national expression in the Declaration of Independence, reveal in mankind an expansion of the unit man; that all nations are made of one blood, and the doctrine of human brotherhood is the taproot of human nature. The progress of civilization, the native justice of man's heart efforescing in Luther, Magna Charta, Puritanism, Democracy, Negro The laws of natural growth, material interests, and the moral welfare of society, will ultimately decree the separation of these States. The opinions of thoughful men in unblased moments, of Mr. Park-er, Mr. Phillips, and others, that the Federal Union ther, Magna Charta, Puritanism, Democracy, Negro Emancipation, Non-Resistance, is the progress of mankind towards unity and fair play. To force Protestantism into the old Romish strait-jacket of uniformity, to build the liberty of whites on the slavery of blacks, to kill aliens and enemies in defence of citi-face. The strain of the stra

tions from the Bible, he would read some later scripture, which he deemed of great significance in this pure, which he deemed of great significance in this great which he deemed of great significance in this great which he deemed of great significance in this great was a proper or friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys an expectation of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great great the great of the friends—all this impairs growth, destroys the great great the great great the great great the great g

True, the South were the aggressors; but shall I fight a duel, or go into the ring, because I am challenged! Shall I steal and lie because I am opposed with theft and falsehood? Rather let me adhere to my principles, be the more honest and truthful, knowing that if slaveholders are right, the aword cannot defeat them that if they are wrong, God cannot save them. did not say much about it! Murder is the gravest crime man commits; yet war is murder multiplied by the majority. By what ethics, then, is the man a criminal, and the mass heroes! Can we "serve God individually, and the devil collectively"! If the whole is greater than a part, to kill a man is a greater is than to enslave him; for life bases and includes all other human rights. Self-defence is right; but how much of yourself will you save? Self is composed of soul and body; to save your life by sin, you lose your soul; to lose your life for truth, you save your soul. I go for the soul. You would not de wrong, would not slee, you would not led wrong, would not led, to save your life; will you commit the gravest sin to live? To argue that animal instincts prevail; that when the lion and the lamb lie down together, "the lamb-must be

pertinent and absurd.

According to reason, as in Christian ethics, it is a greater sin to kill an enemy than it is to kill a friend, as it is more cruel to strike a sick man than a well man. Because your enemy—unless you are the ras call and he the asint, which is quite likely—your enemy is morally sick, deprayed by victous circumstances. The North and South to-day are not enemy.

enemy is morally sick, deprive by the control stances. The North and South to-day are notices miss, they are "opposites"—the natural outgrowth of this antagonism of ideas we called a Union. Arthey blameful? The scraggy oak on the creat of Wachusett does not want to be scraggy, but it is the best of the control of the co

oam of the plain, or the rich mud of the intervale,

toam of the plain, or the rich must of the intervale, it would have been as robust and respectable as yourselves. So take a "Copperhead"—I think these
vile nicknames unworthy the lips of reformers—take
a Mozart Hall Democrat; analyze him. The first layer is Fernando Wood; under that, the New York Obscree; under that, Jefferson Davis; under that—the
deal!! —no a corn of maphood flathing un against a

devil ?-no, a germ of manhood fighting up against corrupt trade, a debauched politics, and depraved re ligion. Arrest him? Rather arrest the circumstance

when Dutch shopkeepers opened their dykes and buried all Holland beneath the sea to save it from the clutch of Louis XIV.—as when the women of

Fredericksburg, on bended knees, besought Gen. Lee to burn their city, rather than surrender it to the North—

or Frenchman; makes him a satellite of the gover

feeling. As Sidney Smith said of two nousewives scodding from their opposite tenements—they will never agree, because they argue from different premises. Nationality is a minus quantity; the more American, the more Englishman, the less man. The charm of Shakspeare is, that he was a man, not an

Englishman, merely; an ocean bathing every sho

peaceful revolution as the result of growth, peaceful

government is in its justice; rebellion began not in 1861, but in 1789, when these States framed iniquity into a law. The logic of the Abolitionists was the

logic of events; emancipation as a duty; that refused disunion in behalf of justice and liberty. There was

And monarchs tremble in their espitals;

And monarch treable in their capitals;

of armies whose embattled tread shakes the globe; we forget that truth alone is the first class power; Palestine for its religion, Greece for its knowledge, Rome for its Justice, Germany for its insight; such are the only first class powers. Mr. Lincoln said in his last message, that "nations are composed of three elements; their people, their laws, and their territory; and the last alone is permanent." Oh, no, Mr. President, do we ask how many acres Judea had, Greece had, Rome had! We ask whether they believed in truth and the example of it; we ask whether they have as a spot large enough to erect a cross, and a martyr to hang upon it! It is not the great nations, Persia, Assyria, Macedon, which most serve the race. In Palestine, Greece, mediæval Italy, sea girt England, not the empire whose morning drum-beat circles the labos, is Streen (see and the sea and the se not the empire whose morning drum-beat circles the globe; in States "so small that, in a day or two, on horseback, you could ride through two or three of them; in such has humanity been glorified."

This savagery of materialism, the scent of blood rousing ferocious instincts, obtrudes the age of the brute into the age of man. Democratic freedom has rism, a government of force a nuisance. No doubt such opinions appear to you wild, youthful, visionary no real freedom on earth until men beat their sword hooks, and learn war no more. A nation which has adopted that principle cannot be enslayed, any more than the angels of God. . . Wherein does this war diffe from any other animated by the spirit of hatred any reverge, and prosecuted by a resort to murderou weapons? Is not human blood flowing like water Are not the wounded, dying and dead multiplying like the withered leaves of autumn? Are not hon are assaided—the weapons of tyranny in all ages. I groan in spirit that a good cause is defended by the same weapons by which a bad cause is upheld. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life, is not the way em or bless our race. Sword against sword canoon against canoon, army against army—is it thus that love and good-will are diffused through the world, or that right conquers wrong? . . . It is our duty to re-member the fate of all who are involved in this war, whether they are on the right or on the wrong side; for they are all brothers by creation, children of the same great human family, and under the most sacred obligations to love and do good to each other."

These inspired sentiments, addressed to Hungary when, fighting in pure self-defence, and for both freedom and actionality, all the was averagelened by the

dom and nationality, she was overwhelmed by the combined armies of Austria and Russia, I should cease to reverence, did I not think them as true of

America to-day.

Let me climb to the head, to the bright consummate flower of American literature, and pluck a leaf with which to adorn my discourse. Mr. Emerson wrote which to adorn my discourse. Mr. Emerson wrote-it was before he accepted an office at West Point— "War to sane men begins to look like an epidemic in-sanity, breaking out here and there like the cholera or influenz, infecting men's brains instead of their bowels. A universal peace is as sure as is the provabowels. A universal peace is as sure as is the prova-lence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal gov-ernments over feudal forms. If you have a na-tion of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their true, great and able men. . . . Non-resistance is the future of democracy, the American idea. As

in the moral sunshine."

In claiming, therefore, that non-resistance is the true theory of democracy, the to-morrow of free institutions, I merely entrench myself behind the largest heart and clearest brain which America has given to the world—behind the Decharation of Independence and Plymouth Rock—behind Hampden and Magna Charta—behind hupan nature and had the second of the contract of the con and Plymouth Hock—behind Hampden and Magna Charta—behind human nature and the throne of Infinite Truth! There is a democracy higher, purer, more powerful and enduring than that which is accurate to the blood of enemies; it is the democracy which speaking from the ashes of Smithfield, the hemock of Socrates, and—I say it reverently—the cross of Jesus, conquers every foe, and wins the applause and the revenue of all nations, all races, all ages. But the opposite, the deadly fee of all this—the normal school of vice, ignorance and supersition—absolute, unnitigated despotine, inspiring a rampant ascendency of brute force with the most ferocious and vindictive of human passions; the spirit of destruction incarracts; immoral, irrespossible, athesiate—a spirit which, unrestricted, would annihilate society, unpeople the planet, and "make the universe a mob of worlds"—however others may postpone their principles, for myself, I owe to democracy and civilization, I owe to humanity and religion, the absorber with which the war system inspires me.) ind human nature and the throne of In

"This world is fall of beauty
As other worlds above,
And if we did our daty,
It might be full of love."

True, the South were the aggressors; but shall I fight a duel, or go into the ring, because I am opposed with theft and falsebood? Rather let me adhere to my principles, be the more honest and truthful, knowing that if slaveholders are right, the sword cannot defeat them that if they are wrong, God cannot save them.

As yet, barbariam inspires the methods, and is the leading size of civilization. We have not ascended to the realm of ideas; in the fifth day of creation the world awaits man. The new canary bird in our lady's cage is a foreigner, a misance to whip or the whipped as a certificate of citizenship. So the feathered warriors quarrel in order to live peaceably. When the farmer brings home a strange ox, there is a general fight to know which beats. The result of the battle is the basis of a new social order. The canaries and cattle reason well; for victory is a certain presumptive of peace, order and stability. The hamman being, also, is an animal on his way to be man, and has a right to come up on all fours as far as is convenient. But shall we always wear hoofs, never ascending into the heavenward-looking posture of perfect men? As yet, cattle give laws to man; and there is sad truth in the joke of the English wit, that he went to the Sayers and Heenan fight to see the ruling class of the race. "Statesmen" believe in the first, not in the gospel according to Sayers and Heenan imake nations mere fighting-cocks, to crow lust-lify for "honon," and claw out each other's cycle and hearts for "glory." We talk of "first class powers," aglow with visions of mere material supremacy, of commerce whitening every sea, of navies

—"hidding nations quake,

And meanwhit the soult is not should be alarmed to be readered. The departs of civilization of the proposed according to Sayers and Heenan fight to see the ruling class of the race. "Statesmen" believe in the first, the soult is not in the gospel according to Sayers and Heenan in the soult is not for the proposed according to Sayers and Heenan in the soult is not tinued warfare." Jefferson said, "War is an Instru-ment wholly uncertain in its operations, and frequent-ly, if not generally, occasions more evils than it cures or prevents." "The army," says Sir James Mackin-tosh, "is the last resource of power; a tremendous weapon, which, if it did not sometimes happily recoil on those who wield it, would rob all the slaves in the sovid of hope, and all the freemen of safety."

I am unable to see that this war has advanced us so far on the road of national redemption as many pre-tict. With England, slavery stood on a few distant islands, a mere wart upon the body politic, yet is took

islands, a mere wart upon the body politic, yet it took half a century to abolish it. In France, the problem was alike insignificant compared with ours; and in 1798, in the ferror of a revolutionary moment, eman-1793, in the fervor of a revolutionary moment, emancipation was proclaimed as an act of justice throughout the French dominions. Yet the act was reversed
under Napoleon in 1802, and it was not until 1848 that
what was decreed as justice in 1798, became a fact in
French law. With us, alavery covers an area equal
to one fourth of all Europe; its roots run back beneath the strata of centuries; enwoven with every
thre, it has diffused its poison through every member of the body politic; in armed revolt against the
Federal life, the Treadent yet apologizes for emancination as a "military necessity," assuring posterily pation as a "military necessity," assuring posterior that under no circumstances will we be guilty of that under no circumstances will we be guity or a generous motive; he hates the negro more than he hates slavery, and, with all his contempt for the guarantees of freedom, there is one law he always respects and enforces—even to handing the manacled fugitive back to bondage from the marble steps of the capital—the Fugitive Stare Late. Tet, in an inspira-siavery leanings, Mr. Lincoln represents the people too well. Now you may gather figs of thistles, or ex-tract subbeams from cucumbers; but how you will ex-tract justice from such a people before they are con-verted is not apparent. The French Assembly said, "The Republic would doubt itself could it hesitate or an instant to suppress slavery." But emancipa Washington has not yet reached the dignity of and Mr. Seward. To allow your enemy to choose the field of battle is bad generalship; so in morals, it field of battle is ban generals p; so in motals, in you follow the devil, you will bring up in hell. The present Anti-Slavery method attempts to cast out Beelzebub by Beclzebub; it stands in a tub trying to lift itself by the ears; it is plus into minus, which always produces minus. The Government yet holds slaves wherever it has the power to do it; and most that has been accomplished for the negro by the Rethat has been accomplished to the negro by the Re-publican party—the border States would have been driven to emancipate by disunion—is incidental to and dependent upon the final adjustment of this question under the Constitution "as it is," by an unregenerate people, and a court of which Dred Scott Taney is Chief Justice. The distinguished trance medium, Mrs. Hatch, speaking by the inspiration of Theodore Parker—and, as I am not a Spiritualist, I may say that the internal evidence of her discourse was the best argument for the theory of spirit-communication. it has been my good fortune to me him as saying that were he in the body now, he should fight for liberty and justice, but he was not quite certain on which side he should fight to secure liberty and justice! If we are to be saved by our losses, as Mr. Phillips argues, why should not Mr. Parker fight with Jefferson Davis awhile! Unionists pray for the success of the stars and stripes; Confederates pray for the success of the stars and bars; but I don't think the Delty frets himself much about it, either way. God is with every desolate heart, every darkened home, on both sides; but He has instituted moral laws which these States have infringed, and, to be saved, they must answer their own prayers.

That war "educates" us up to freedom, that you may

be saved, they must answer their own prayers.

That war "educates" us up to freedom, that you may illuminate men's minds by letting daylight through their bodies, is questionable. Rather, in passing from a commercial to a military democracy, from the reign of gold to the reign of iron, we lose sight of the principles of liberty, which, in English history, hinged upon money oftener than upon the sword. This war power invoked in the service of emancipation is slavery in epaulettes, the old thief under a new alias. The arbitrary suspension of the guarantees of freedom in time of war—as if they were not then most needright future of democracy, the American idea. As God liveth, it is the only gun which does not need a gun; the law of love and justice, which alone defice a clean revolution. We make by distrust the thief, the burglar, and the locendiary, and by our court and jail we keep him so. An acceptance of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our aide with tears, with the devotion of his faculties to our service. Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and every selection of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our aide with tears, with the devotion of his faculties to a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our adaptive to the project of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our aide with tears, with the devotion of his faculties to a cause here is much darkness you must put out all he lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Every course of the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love would put a new face on this a cause there is much darkness you must put out all he lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love would be resulted to the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love would be resulted to the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love would be resulted to the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. Love the lights; the doctrine of constructive treason, unknown to American law, and in England since Errice. fast the vain diplometry of statemen, the impotency of restand not received to revenue of a runles and navies and lines of defence, would be government; but free speech is the government, free superseded by this unaymed child. This great, overgrown, dead Christendom of ours at least keeps alive government, personal liberty is the government; all the name of a lover of mankind; but one day all men will be lovers, and every calamity will be dissolved in the moral sunshine."

In claiming, therefore, that non-resistance is the over the cargo to save the ship, it is scuttling the ship to save the cargo. To have cargo to save the ship, it is scuttling the ship to save the cargo. to save the cargo: to save the same, it is scutting the same to cargo: The negro will cover a multitude of sins, but he has not virtue enough for that. Surely, if it is constitutional for Abolitionist to preach diaunion and burn the Constitution, as it certainly is, it is constitutional for Democrats to answer their arguit is constitutional for Democrats to answer their arguments. If it is right to speak for the war, it is right to speak against it. This doctrine, that the military is above the civil authority, puts the republic on the basis of despotism; on the path traversed by your "man on horseback," your Kapoleon, your Alexander, your Casar.

I wins the all races, it would erect another lab in the graveyard of emfelt his-pires. And shuts the gates of mercy on mankind "; it would erect another lab in the graveyard of emfelt his pires." America died of its own bayoneta."

This war is essentially an armed caucus, "petrispiring a pilots into builets;" it is a scheme of political procelyian in quest of "union sentiment," North and South; one party proposing to abolish siavery, the tendency of such annihilates an experiment—as Judre Conway shows in his late a universe to a compensation on this craise—is to undo by the sword what has been cracy and one, the abolish nati-always the second with the despotio elements of the South. The Eng-

lish Commonwealth (an utter failure) is quoted for our imitation; but Cromwell's soldiers, of the s our imitation; but Cromwell's soldiers, of the best blood of Europe, the most moral and religions ever took the field, were so demoralized by the mismore incorruptible than Puritans—braver than French men ? That the Tribune would barter the liberal men? That the Tribane would barter the liberia of three million negroes, in the insurgent State "the Union"; that Dr. Brownson, who spoke with splause on the platform of she Emancipation Leaps, would depose Mr. Lincoln and take Jeffram Davisa President, "to save the Union"; that Gerit Said would risk increased power to slavery, "to save the Union" and the Said would risk increased power to slavery, "to save the union" are the Gerit Said would risk increased power to slavery, "to save the gready "educated" to restore slavery to a controlled.

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We chi this city is this city is the peoph the extrest cd out so hat and di. We have whether we will be said of the said of th

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As to the radical scheme, supposing you succed in the field; supposing Yicksburg falls, Lee is betten, and Richmond and Charleston surrender; supposing emancipation triumphs under the shadow of word, and Federal dragoons wash their horses hoofs in the Gul; what then? The old questions are upon you; ware two nations still. Where are the means to admission, free inalitations at the South? The element of bellion are there intensified, sullen, defant, rely to bellion are there intensified, sullen, defant, rely to one for a religious object. Is there a man here who would make a Poland or a Hungary of the South if he would nake a round or a rungary of the South its could 3 ("Yes, yes.") But, my dear sir, would you be Austria to do it? For I saked for a man, not an Au-trian! Gasparan, our friendliest French critic, say, "As in the end, modern governments rest on the co-sent of the governed, it will certainly be necessary to last those or who could no longer by hald. let those go who could no longer be held, except by are ed occupation and the lasting use of force. Free insti ea occupation and the fasting use of force. Fre fini-tiations would perish in the attempt. Accepting temperary separation, the North would for the first time be self. Hitherto the baleful influences of the South fare corrupted everything: now the United States wouldrappear, and are about to know the greatness of librity and justice." Professor Cairnes, the able casijute of Stuart Mill in our behalf, says, "The armed occup-tion would eventually imperil the cause of popular stitutions in North America; and the loss of popular government would be a heavy price to pay for the tion involved the overthrow of the slave power."

My friends, among radicals you must allow me to be a little conservative. The principles of the Ari-Slavery Society, which I have read to you, plainy forbid the use of the sword as an agent of emacination; — rapine and haveo let loose, State declared, cities sacked, whole populations driven forth in qualor and starvation, beneath skies lurid with the glare of their burning homes, a million America still urged to mutual and unreceous susquere-ee principles I have endorsed necessitate such barbaron measures! For I aspire to be a man as well as a Abolitionist, and slaveholders are my brothers not less than slaves. I know the grand purpose that inpres freemen in this tremendous conflict,—that this red restored from slaves to men! But I would so race restored from staves to men! But a would be dead that good may come! I scout the borist dectrine, that the end justifies the means; therefore, I do not believe in this war. The Abolitionits initiate the true policy, the only policy which liberty has had in this struggle,—the policy of principle. Justice is the duty of the master, and the right of the size, which would have quietly removed the whole case of disturbance; for immense as is this darkening cloud of war, all its bolts would have dropped harm less into the earth at the heaven-tipped ritus of emancipation. That refused, then separation as a moral duty, repudiating oppressors as the criminals they are, and erecting the North into a nationality or he basis of "No union with slaveho the opposite systems each on its own merit, and ki-ting the laws of nature which are all anti-slaver, and God who was always an Abolitionist, take care of the consequences. Thus to wash our hands of the public o of slavery, and strangle forever the very thought of

of slavery, and strange to rever use very method of compromise with it.

That was the readlest, wises, bravest method of treating this thing. "But, ah! would it be safe!" Where's your faith in your principles! "But would it ensure us cotton from Carolina, and sugar foat Louisiana?" Seek ye first the kingdom of bestra, and cotton and sugar shall be added unto you! It be Union were dissolved, would the Misstaippi river nu up hill? Would not the sun shine, rain fall, on grow, and flowers bloom as before! As to the ritr. grow, and flowers bloom as before! As to the river being under the control of two powers, how is it will be St. Lawrence, how with the Danube, how with the Rhine. the St. Lawrence, how with the Banker, Rhine, mirroring several nationalities in its boson! Commerce clears its own channel. "But slaver! would flow abroad!" Rather, girdled with the free would flow abroad!" Rather, girdled with the resentiment of the world as a ring of fire, the scorpiawould sting itself to death. "It would come North!"
As well-hold slaves in heaven as in Massachust.
"We must return fugitives!" When Edward Erriett says "no," what Abolitionist shall heitint! "But
he samtlenges!" It would hand he he whole ett says "no," what Abolitionist shall hesitate:

of freedom.

Victor Hugo says, "A cannon ball makes it Victor Hugo says, "A cannon ball makes two thesand miles an hour; light makes two hundred thesand miles a second—such is the difference between Jesus 'Christ and Napoleon!" It is the simple method of truth that has enabled the Anti-Slavry Sciety, a handful of "fanatics," at an expense of less than an million dollars—less than what your sar cost each twelve hours—to revolutionize twenty State; which has ploughed the name of Garrison deept in the world than any other since Luther. Sume, the world than any other since Luther.

the Tribune, the Republican party, the Federal welf,
they were all born of the Liberator? In that treh
and its impartial enforcement, I believe today-a
truth which has gone through England, through
France, Holland, Turkey, Russia—a truth which has
could deal truth which are the state of th France, Holland, Turkey, Russia—a Russia, and be scaled and captured every throne of Europe, and be fore which, in America, majorities, States fore which, in America, more armies, are alike ephemeral—conquering at once is peace and war, by victory, defeat, in property and adversity—co-operating with the world's sternal ked encies, it will advance through ignorance and superation, through cowardice and fanaticism, to law, system, empire—

" For I doubt not, through the ages, one increasing parpose runs,
And the thought of men are widened with the process

Not in wain the distance beacons—forward, forward, is in
range: Let the great globe spin forever down the ringing grants of change. Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind red-ing warm.
With the standards of the peoples plunging through its Ununder-storm: thunder-storm;
Till the war-drum throbe no longer, and the lattledge are furled.

In the parliament of man, the federation of the writing the common sense of most shall hold a futful cale. in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universities.

JOHN S. ROCK, ESQ., ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,